1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29



## INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 184 The tribes living in the swampy territory around the Tulare Lake were the nucleus of a Yokuts culture which differed in many respects from that of the foothill and hill people. The divergence was not merely that due to a fundamentally different ecological background; it was manifest also in their dichotomous social organization and ceremonial practices. The lake tribes' cultural link was with the Yokuts of Kings River and northward, and with the Wowol to the south rather than toward the eastward hills.

115 The localities and intertribal relations of the lake tribes are presented by Kroeber,[23] and to his information we have little to add. Our Tachi informant (M.G.), long away from childhood scenes, was unable to formulate precise information on her native village region. The need for two interpreters to translate her conversation (Tachi to Wukchumni, Wukchumni to English) did not add clarity. The Chunut informant (J.A.) excellent in other respects, was unclear on local topography, whereas her knowledge of names and locations of distant tribes was remarkably accurate. The information obtained from these two women has been added to that of Kroeber and mapped in Local Map A (map 2).

578 ●609 According to M.G. there was no intercamp or intervillage quarrelling among the Tachi. But bitter feeling, resulting in occasional fights, existed between the Tachi and the valley tribes living north of Kings River, known collectively to the Tachi as Hoshima (ho´šima, northerners). The Nutunutu, as the nearest of these, were specific enemies of the Tachi. If these people attempted to come into Tachi territory for seeds or game, the Tachi "met them halfway and made them go back." The Chunut did not fight the Hoshima, M.G. said (but see Chunut informant's account, p. 9).

439 436 The Tachi were on friendly terms with all the groups bordering on the lake, but particularly with the Wowol who came as far north as the Wolasi in their balsas to trade. They tied the balsas to tules and slept on them at night. The Wowol wanted a grass-seed food and traded shell money in return. The Wowol acquired the shells from the To´kya (Salinan), who lived at ču´lama,[24] near the ocean, and far west and

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[23] Handbook, 474-486.

[24] A Salinan site on Cholame Creek, an upper tributary of the Salinas River.

[P. 159 b] Dumna

173 catch an Indian. The people on the Creek had
644 never seen any white people or Mexicans before;
they were all scared and hid around in the
[609] hills. But some were caught, among them B.W.'s
father, his brother, and himself A bullet had
hit his brother. They went back into their
village B.W.'s father was the headman and he
asked the white men to leave their guns at home
unless they wanted to have fights. The white
men said they just wanted to make friends.
Then his father called all his people together
and told them to go down (where?) to the "white
fandango." About twenty or thirty went and
were given food, hats, and coats. Then others
went down. They had been told to come once a
month for presents.

A man (named Dover?) had one hundred and
sixty acres of land where he wanted the Indians
to be placed. All the headmen, Gashowu, Tachi,
everybody, were sent for B.W. went with his
father. The government wanted to make schools.
Each morning two white men and (native) inter-
preters told them what was going to take place.
Then a white man (Dover?) went over to Kings
River to see the Indians there, but he got
killed. The Indians called him Ca'was. The
government sent no money at this time. But
this was the beginning of all bad things --
sickness and drunkenness -- and all the Indians
went.

435 On another occasion B.W. declared that the
648 high price of native basketry was due to the
fact that some white land owners charged Indian
women for the privilege of coming on their
property to get the grasses and roots needed.
He said that "over on Kings River" some men
charged $2.50 a day for the gathering of basket-
ry materials on their land.

## KECHAYI

648 feel the wrists of their partners in the dance.
826 If they had hard wrists, the Mono knew they
were Mono also; if the wrists were soft, the
dancers were Yokuts. The Eastern Mono con-
versed with the Yokuts through their linguistic
[192] and cultural kin, the Western Mono people
(Yayanchi and Posgisa). When these said the
Yokuts were friends, the Eastern Mono left them
alone.

648 E.M. recounted the story of a war with
462 Mono people which occurred before she was born.
222

Long ago (before E.M. was born) a number
of Yokuts people from the Chukchansi, Kechayi,
and Gashowu tribes were camping east of Friant.
They had all gone there for acorn-gathering.
It was the general practice that the men, im-
mediately after the morning meal, went out to
shake down the acorns. Leaving these to be
collected by the women, they then went off for
the day to hunt or fish. Toward sundown they
returned and helped the women crack the nuts.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29



ner, and killdeer. Of quadrupeds, the bear is most prominent. Fox, wild cat, jack rabbit, beaver, and antelope are of the same group. 616 825

Coyote is the most conspicuous animal on the *Nutuwish* side. Associated with him are the *limik* or falcon, the buzzard, several species of hawks and owls, the quail, and the skunk.

In Yokuts legendary traditions tales of contests and competitions for superiority abound, which may in many cases reflect this totemic duality. Of this sort are struggles between the falcon and raven, coyote and eagle, condor and eagle, and between the deer of the upstream hills and the antelope of the downstream plains. In all these cases, except where the falcon is involved, the downstream animal triumphs. Only in a war of the uplanders against the lake people is coyote successful. In certain other tales the personages are not in opposition, but are all or nearly all of one division. Thus one tale tells of the deeds of coyote, falcon, and white owl; another of coyote, hawk, condor, and owl; a third of eagle, crow, road runner, and fox, with the lone coyote as a disturbing coadjutor; and so on. 616 773 825

It is even possible that the totemic affiliation of certain animals that are as yet unplaced in the social organization of the modern Yokuts can be reasonably predicted from the mythology. This applies not only to the deer and condor, but to the dog, the wood rat, the humming bird, the mountain quail, the woodpecker, and the spider on the *Nutuwish* side; while it seems almost as if in the legends of the southern Yokuts—although the institution itself is lacking—the falcon had been transferred from this to the *Tohelyuwish* division.

A Yokuts does not ask a stranger whether he is *Nutuwish* or *Tohelyuwish*, nor what his moiety may be, but: "What is your dog?" 616 609

As bear doctors speak of the grizzly bear as their "dog," a connection between the moiety animals and the guardian spirits of shamans might be imagined. The Yokuts, however, specifically distinguish between their inherited totemic animals, which they sometimes keep in captivity but which confer no distinctive powers on their persons, and the animals, spirits, or monsters that the impending shaman dreams of or encounters in a trance. 616 825 [787]

The balance of opposition between animals of the two moieties that runs through the legends has institutional parallels among the Yokuts themselves. Thus, formal games were between moieties. Each moiety had a distinctive style of body paint. In mourning rites the divisions acted reciprocally. From the Chukchansi to the Tachi, and perhaps farther, there was an eagle ceremony. The bird was killed by the coyote division, redeemed and received with manifestations of grief by the moiety of which it was representative. 616 796 825

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



101 175 619 648 [482] swimming the animals and the little cart across without the slightest accident occurring.

"These poor people accompanied us from creek to creek, assisting us cheerfully at each crossing, and in return for their kindness I gave them a portion of our provisions and some dirty shirts, stockings and worn-out boots, which they prized as articles of exceeding luxury, and accepted them with vast satisfaction."

[609] The people described are the Kaweah, who only a few months before had massacred the Woods party and had nailed a portion of Woods' skin to a tree. The reception given the Derby party is in direct contrast to that given the Woods party and lends support to the contention by pioneers that the Kaweah had been abused by that party.

Another interesting account of a similar occurrence, which took place among the Yokuts more than 70 years before the Woods party came to the San Joaquin Valley, is that made in his diary by Padre Francisco Garces when he visited present White River May 3, 1776:

[609] "Those Indians related to me that in their land had they taken the life of two soldiers (who I persuaded myself were deserters), because they were very wicked with the women; adding that they had cut off the hands, had laid open the breast and all the body, had torn them asunder, and scattered the remains. I told them that also did the Espanoles put to death those who were evil-doers, and that presently would they punish two who had done wrong things with Indian women."

## THE LAKE PEOPLE

101 184 [342] The second culture is related in many ways to the one just presented, and will be known as the Lake Culture. Except at one or two village sites, which were well elevated above the highest lake level, they probably had no permanent dwellings.

285 Their houses were of a temporary nature and their entire life resembled that of wandering, migratory peoples. The tule mat was used for almost everything in the way of houses and camp equipment. These mats were made by laying the tules parallel to each other with a series of half hitches, or by perforating them with an awl and threading them on strings. In this way long rolls of thin coverings were made which greatly resembled what is known as grass, or reed matting. Some of these mats were used to sleep on. They were used as covering materials to form a shade upon the sun-drenched shores of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



the coast. These and indications from horse-bones dragged about by wild animals, wolves or bears, warned us that we were approaching villages of Horse-thief Indians, a party of whom had just returned from a successful raid. 175

"Immediately upon striking their trail I sent forward four of my best men, Dick Owens and Maxwell and two Delawares. I followed after with the rest of the party, but soon the Indians signs became so thick, trail after trail coming into that on which we were traveling, that I saw we were getting into a stronghold of the Horse-thieves, and we rode rapidly forward.

"After a few miles of sharp riding, a small stream running over a salty bed, with clumps of oaks around, tempted me into making an early halt. Good grass was abundant, and this spot not long since had been the camping ground of a village, and was evidently one of their favorite places, as the ground was whitened with the bones of many horses.

"We had barely thrown off our saddles and not yet turned the horses loose, when the intermittent report of rifles, in the way one does not mistake, and the barking of many dogs and sounds of shouting faintly reaching us, made us quickly saddle again and ride to the sounds at speed.

"Four men were left to guard the camp. In a short half mile we found ourselves suddenly in front of a large Indian village not two hundred yards away. More than a hundred Indians were advancing on each side of a small hill, on the top of which were our men where a clump of oaks and rocks amidst bushes made a good defense. 175 609 648

"My men had been discovered by the Indians and suddenly found themselves in the midst of them, but jumped from their horses and took to the rocks, which happened to be a strong place to fight from. The Indians were shouting at them in Spanish, and the women and children at the village howling at their best.

"Our men were only endeavoring to stand them off until we could get up, as they knew we would not be far behind. The Indians had nearly surrounded the knoll and were about getting possession of the horses when we came into view. Our shot as we charged up the hill was answered by the yell of the Delawares as they dashed down the hill to recover their animals and the report of Owen's and Maxwell's rifles.

"Owens had singled out the foremost Indian, who did not go any farther up the hill, and the others drew a little back

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



towards the village. Anxious for the safety of the men left behind, I profited by the surprise to withdraw towards our camp; checking the Indians by an occasional rifle shot, with the range of which they seemed to think they were acquainted.

"They followed us to the camp and scattered around among the rocks and trees, whence they harangued us, bestowing on us liberally all the epithets they could use, telling us what they would do with us.

"Many of them had been Mission Indians and spoke Spanish well. 'Wait,' they said—*'Esperate Carrajos'*—'wait until morning'. There are two big villages up in the mountains close by; we have sent for the Chief; he'll be down before morning with all the people, and you will all die. None of you shall go back; we will have all your horses'.

"The Horse-thief tribes have been 'Christian Indians' of the Missions, and when these were broken up by Mexico the Indians took to the mountains. Knowing well the coast country, and the exact situation of the Missions where they had lived and the ranchos and the range which their horses were accustomed to, they found it easy to drive off the animals into the mountains, partly to use as saddle-horses, but principally to eat.

"In time they became a scourge to the settlement. The great ranges which belonged with the ranchos not only supported many thousands of cattle, but also many hundreds of horses which were divided into bands, *'Manadas'*. The Indians were the vaqueros or herdsmen who attended to both herding the cattle and breaking in the colts.

"The Californians had great pleasure in their horses. On some ranchos there would be several hundred saddle-horses, in bands of eighty or a hundred of different colors; *Alazan* (sorrel) always the favorite color. Deprived of their regular food, the Indians took to the mountains and began to drive off horses. Cattle would not drive fast enough to avoid the first pursuit. In their early condition they had learned to eat wild horse-meat and liked it. Familiarity with the whites and the success of their predatory excursions made the Horse-thief Indians far more daring and braver than those who remained in fixed villages, whether in the mountains or on the valley streams which carried the name of the different tribes—The *Cosumné, Mokelumné*, and *Auxumné* (Merced) Rivers. Probably all the streams if their Indian names could have been known received their names from the small tribes who lived upon them.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



abroad gathering foodstuffs, the Indians lived in crude shelters, or huts, more than they did in permanent houses. 221 342

When the salmon were running in the San Joaquin River the Yokuts migrated to that place. During the season when millions of wild ducks and geese entered the valley, the Yokuts were to be found about the sloughs and swamps snaring them and shooting them with their bows and arrows, gorging themselves upon the fresh meat, and drying much of it to be carried many miles across the plains to the permanent villages. 221 [251]

The arrangement of the village was not as haphazard as we might be led to suppose. There were some rules governing the arrangement of the camp. These rules might be likened to some of our town and city ordinances. The Headman, or Chief, of the tribe was likely to occupy the most desirable location. The sweat house, which has already been described in detail, was located down stream from the rest of the village. This was due to the fact that care was taken not to polute the streams above the village. An Indian would be careful in wading across the stream above the village. Bathing and washing were generally done at or below the sweat house. 361 361 364

At least one writer, Steven Powers, and several pioneer whites, as well as aged Yokuts Indians, have stated that the plains and lake houses were built and arranged with almost military uniformity. When several houses stood near each other they were erected in a straight line which approximated a row of houses in a pioneer white town. 361 114

At every village several fires were kept going in the open, day and night. A hole several feet across and a foot or more in depth contained burning coals and cooking rocks. Into this fire pit was thrown all sorts of camp refuse. A pile of dry wood lay nearby. In at least some camps there were rules that the kitchen refuse and the offal from freshly killed game must be disposed of in this family fire-pit. Deer and large game was generally dressed in the field, the carcass being carried to the camp by the men who killed it. There it was taken in hand by the women. 361 364

In well organized tribes a stranger was not allowed to enter an Indian village unattended. At the lower and upper limits of the village were situated *Winatuas* (messengers) whose business it was to meet strangers and conduct them to the chief or head man and to run all sorts of errands for him. 609 624 576

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



early settlers. Even Padre Garces mentioned bathing himself only once and that was when he crossed Kern River. He wrote on May 1st, 1776: "They [the Indians] convoyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, and the other two by the body; whereupon I took advantage of the occasion to bathe at my pleasure in that water so limpid and beautiful."

No person who did not see the Yokuts Indians before 1854 or '55 really knows much about their conditions of living before they were turned out of practically every one of their old village sites.

It appears to me no more unfair to steal a man's money and then to call him a pauper than to drive an Indian from the means of keeping himself presentable and then to call him dirty.

According to repeated testimony, the old Yokuts were true to each other, provident, kind to their families, honest to a fault, temperate, and good citizens within their social group. For some reason I have always felt that if they fulfilled these requirements, a moratorium might be in order regarding the matter of the Saturday night bath. It is proper to record here in support of these last statements that while on Kern River Padre Garces wrote on May 1st, 1776: "The young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while; they take great care of their hair and do it up in a topknot; they wear petticoats of antelope skin and mantas of fur, though they are not very coy."

This is Garces' third mention of bathing by Yokuts.

At another rancheria in the same locality he wrote on May 2nd: "In this rancheria I found that the little damsels went naked; and though in other parts the same occurred among the women grown, I have not seen in them all an immodest action."

At the present time it is probable that the Indian is receiving the best treatment he has ever receivd at the hands of our government. It is possible that the next few years are to bring even better treatment than they are now receiving. This is a matter of great satisfaction to those white persons who have lived in close contact with the Indians and who have recognized their fine qualities, but it needs some explanation to be appreciated by others.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29



797 648 [361 162]

pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Jonsps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired [765] this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M.

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place 133 of Jonsps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; [137] there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and [283 strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) 227] for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes.

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very 262 savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally [197] produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and [252] dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San 797 Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to 648 Jonsps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoco to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Jonsps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco.

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had [609] their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves.

*Friday, 29.*—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra 648 [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Jonsps, going to 797 his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was 574 to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from